

MASSACHUSETTS

O R

The first Planters of *New-England*,
The *End* and *Manner* of their coming thi-
ther, and Abode there : In several

EPISTLES

Pfal. 84. 3. Tea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the Swallow a Nest for her self; where she may lay her Young; even thy Altars, O LORD of hosts, my King, and my God.

John, 4. 21. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, believe me, the hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father.

Rev. 14. 4. — These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth —

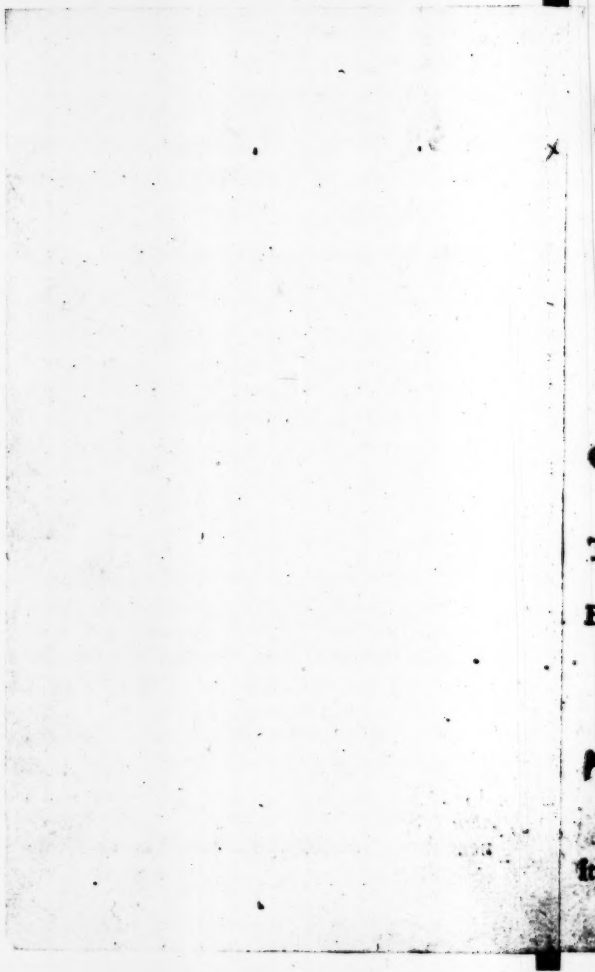
Tantum interest, non Quia, sed Quotis quique pariarur. In Tabernaculo Testimonij, quod erat in Itinere populi Dei, velut Templum deambulatorium, &c.

Augustin. de Civitate Dei. column. 46. &

Lib 15. Cap. 20. column. 845.

Vestra autem Pietas, Viri exules, qua maluit Patriam quam Evangelium deferere; Commodisque carere temporarijs, quam permisceri sacris a Christo alienis, Egregiam sane meretur laudem. Bullinger pæfat in comment. Apoc. p. 16.

Boston in New-England, Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen. Sold by Richard Wilkins, at his Shop near the Old-Meeting-House. 1696.





T H E
H U M B L E
Request

Of His MAJESTIES Loyal Subjects,
the Governour and the Company
late gone for *NEW-ENGLAND*;
To the rest of their Brethren, in and of
the Church of *ENGLAND*.

For the obtaining of their Prayers, and the
removal of suspicions and mis constructions
of their Intentions.

Reverend FATHERS and BRETHREN;

THE general rumour of this so-
lemn Enterprize, wherein our selves
with others, through the providence
of the Almighty, are engaged, as
it may spare us the labour of saying, our
case

cation unto you, so it gives us the more incou-
 ragement to strengthen our selves by the pro-
 curement of the prayers and blessings of the
 Lords faithful Servants: For which end we
 are bold to have recourse unto you, as those
 whom God hath placed nearest his throne of
 Mercy; which as it affords you the more op-
 portunity, so it imposeth the greater bond up-
 on you to intercede for his people in all their
 straits, we beseech you therefore by the
 Mercies of the LORD JESUS to consider us
 as your Brethren, standing in very great need
 of your help, and earnestly imploring it. And
 howsoever your Charity may have met with
 some occasion of discouragement through the
 misreport of our intentions, or through the dis-
 affection, or indiscretion, of some of us, or ra-
 ther amongst us: for we are not of those that
 dream of perfection in this World; yet we
 desire you would be pleased to take notice of
 the Principals, and Body of our Company, as
 those who esteem it our honour to call the
 Church of *England*, from whence we rise, our
 dear Mother, and cannot part from our Native
 Country, where she specially resideth, without
 much sadness of heart, and many tears in our
 eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and
 part as we have obtained in the common sal-
 vation, we have received in her bosome, and
 suckt it from her breasts: we leave it not there-
 fore

fore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but blessing God for the Parentage and Education, as members of the same body, shall always rejoyce in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her, & while we have breath, sincerely desire and indeavour the continuance & abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her Bounds in the Kingdom of CHRIST, JESUS.

Be pleased therefore *Reverend* FATHERS and BRETHREN, to help forward this work now in hand; which if it prosper, you shall be the more glorious: howsoever your judgment is with the LORD, and your reward with your God. It is an usual and laudable exercise of your charity, to commend to the prayers of your Congregations the necessities & straits of your private neighbours; Do the like for a Church springing out of your own bowels. We conceive much hope that this remembrance of us, if it be frequent and fervent, will be a most prosperous gale in our Sailes, and provide such a passage and welcome for us, from the GOD of the whole Earth, as both we which shall find it, and your selves, with the rest of our friends, who shall hear of it, shall be much enlarged to bring in such daily returns of Thanksgivings, as the specialties of his Providence and Goodness may justly challenge

challenge at all our hands. You are not ignorant, that the Spirit of GOD stirred up the Apostle *Paul* to make continual mention of the Church of *Philippi* (which was a Colony from *Rome*) let the same Spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lords Remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing (who are a weak Colony from your selves) making continual Request for us to GOD in all your prayers.

What we intreat of you that are the Ministers of GOD, that we also crave at the hands of all the rest of our Brethren, that they would at no time forget us in their private solicitations at the Throne of Grace. If any there be, who through want of clear intelligence of our course, or tenderness of affection towards us, cannot conceive so well of our way as we could desire, we would intreat such not to despise us, nor to desert us in their prayers and affections, but to consider rather, that they are so much the more bound to express the bowels of their compassion towards us, remembering always that both Nature and Grace, doth ever bind us to relieve and rescue with our utmost and speediest power, such as are dear unto us, when we conceive them to be running uncomfortable hazards.

What goodness you shall extend to us in this or any other Christian kindness, we your Brethren

(5)

thren in CHRIST JESUS shall labour to repay in what duty we are or shall be able to perform, promising so far as God shall enable us to give him no rest on your behalfs, wishing our heads and hearts may be as fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor Cottages in the Wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably besal us. And so commending you to the grace of GOD in CHRIST, we shall ever rest

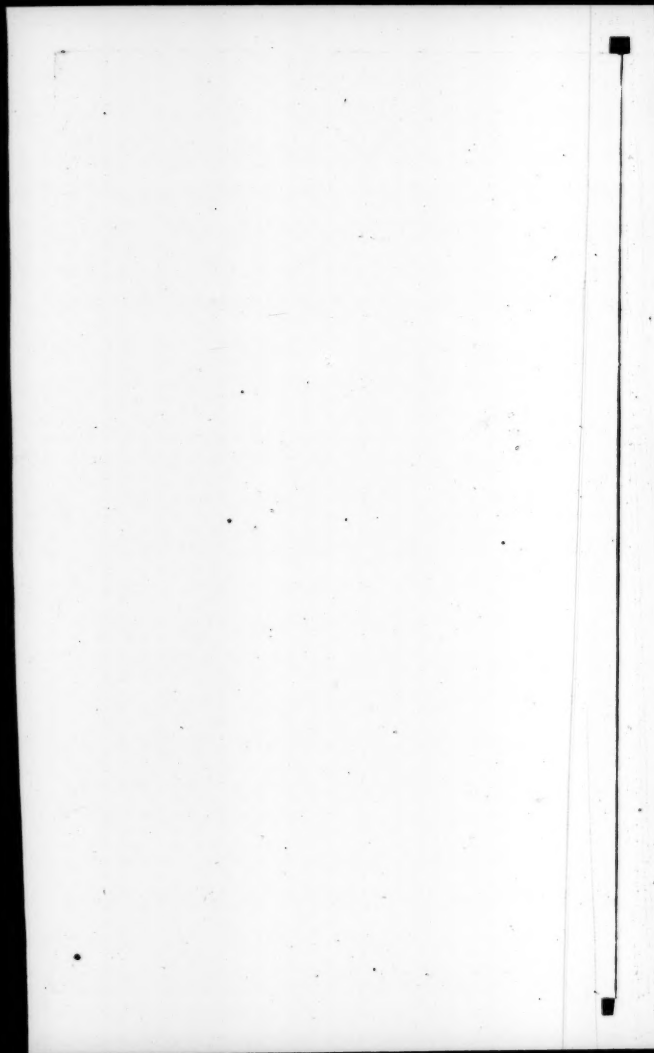
From *Yarmouth*
Aboard the *Arbella*.
April 7. 1630.

Your assured Friends
and Brethren,

Jo. Winthrop. Gov.
Charles Fines.

George Phillips.
&c.

Rich. Saltonstall.
Isaac Johnson.
Tho. Dudley.
William Coddington.
&c.





TO THE
Right HONOURABLE,
My very good LADY,
The Lady
BRIDGET
Countess of
Lincoln.

Madam,

YOUR Letters (which are not common nor cheap) following me hither into *New-England*, and bringing with them renewed Testimonies of the accustomed Favours you Honoured me with

with in the *Old*, have drawn from me 'this
Narrative Retribution, which (in respect of
your proper interest in some persons of
great Note amongst us) was the thankfull-
est present I had to send over the Seas.
Therefore I humbly intreat Your Honour
this be Accepted as payment from him,
who neither hath, nor is any more, Than

*Boston in New-
England, March
12th. 1630.*

Your Honours

Old

Thankful Servant,

T. D.

FOR the satisfaction of Your Honour, and some Friends, and for the use of such as shall hereafter intend to increase our Plantation in *New England*, I have in the throng of Domestick, and not altogether free from Publick Business, thought fit to commit to memory our present condition, and what hath befallen us since our Arrival here ; which I will do shortly, after my usual manner, and must do rudely, having yet no Table, nor other Room to Write in, then by the Fire-side upon my knee, in this sharp Winter ; to which my Family must have leave to resort, though they break good manners, and make me many times forget what I would say ; and say what I would not.

Concerning the *English* that are Planted here : I find that about the Year 1620. Certain *English* set out from *Leyden* in *Holland*, intending their Course for *Hudson's River*.

These being much Weather-beaten, and wearied with seeking the River, after a most tedious Voyage, Arrived at length in a small Bay, lying North-East from *Cape Cod* ; where Landing about the Month of *December*, by the favour of a calm Winter, such as was never seen here since, began to Build their Dwellings in that place, which now is called *New-Plsmouth* : Where after much Sick-

ness,

ness, Famine, Poverty and great Mortality, (through all which, God by an unwonted Providence carried them) they are now grown up to a People, Healthful, Wealthy, Politick and Religious ; such things doth the Lord for those that wait for his Mercies. They of *Plymouth* came with Patents from King *James*, and have since obtained others, from our Sovereign, King *Charles*, having a Governour and Council of their own : There was about the same time, one Mr. *Weston*, an *English* Merchant, who sent divers men to Plant and Trade ; who fate down by the River of *Wesaguscus*, but these coming not for so good ends as those of *Plymouth*, sped not so well ; for the most of them Dying and Languishing away, They who survived were rescued by those of *Plymouth*, out of the hands of *Chickatabost*, &c his *Indian* s, who oppressed those weak *English*, and intended to have destroyed them : And the *Plymouthians* also, as is set down in a Tract, Written by Mr. *Winslow* of *Plymouth* : Also since, one Captain *Wollaston* with some Thirty with him, came near to the same place, and Built in an Hill, which he named Mount *Wollaston* ; but being not supplied with renewed Provisions, they vanished away as the former did. Also divers Merchants of *Bristol*, and some of other places, have yearly for these eight years, or thereabouts, sent Ships hither at the

the Fishing times, to Trade for Bever, where their Factors dishonestly for their gains, have furnished the *Indians* with Guns, Swords, Powder and Shot.

Touching the Plantation which we here have begun : it fell out thus. About the Year 1627. some Friends being together in *Lincolnshire*, fell into discourse about *New England*, and the Planting of the Gospel there ; and after some deliberation, we imparted our reasons, by Letters and Messages, to some in *London* and the *West Country* ; where it was likewise deliberately thought upon, and at length with often negotiation so ripened, that in the year 1628. we procured a Patent from His Majesty for our Planting between the *Massachusetts Bay* and *Charles River* on the South, and the River of *Merrimack* on the North, and three miles on either side of those Rivers and Bay ; as also for the Government of those who did or should Inhabit within that Compass : And the same year we sent Mr. *John Endicott*, and some with him, to begin a Plantation ; and to strengthen such as he should find there, which we sent thither from *Dorchester*, and some places adjoyning : from whom the same year receiving hopeful News : The next year, 1629. we sent divers Ships over, with about Three Hundred People, and some Cowes, Goats and Horses,
many

many of which Arrived safely. These by their too large Commendations of the Country, and the Commodities thereof, invited us so strongly to go on, that Mr. *Wintbrop* of *Suffolk*, (who was well known in his own Country, and well approved here, for his Piety, Liberality, Wisdom and Gravity) coming in to us, we came to such resolution, that in *April*, 1630. we set Sail from Old *England* with four good-Ships. And in *May* following eight more followed; two having gone before in *February* and *March*, and two more following in *June* and *August*, besides another Set out by a private Merchant. These seventeen Ships Arrived all safe in *New England*, for the increase of the Plantation here this year 1630. but made a long, a troublesome and costly Voyage, being all Wind bound long in *England*, and hindred with contrary Winds, after they set Sail, and so scattered with Mists and Tempests, that few of them Arrived together. Our four Ships which set out in *April*, Arrived here in *June* and *July*, where we found the Colony in a sad and unexpected condition, above Eighty of them being Dead the Winter before; and many of those alive, weak and sick; all the Corn and Bread amongst them all, hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight: insomuch that the remainder of an Hundred and Eighty Servants we had the two years before

before sent over, coming to us for Viſuals to ſuſtain them, we found our ſelves wholly unable to feed them, by reaſon that the Proviſions Shipped for them, were taken out of the Ship they were put in; and they who were truſted to Ship them in another, failed us, and left them behind; whereupon neceſſity enforced us to our extream loſs, to give them all Liberty; who had coſt us about Sixteen or Twenty Pound a Perſon, furniſhing and ſending over. But bearing theſe things as we might, we began to conſult of the Place of our Sitting down: For *Salem* where we Landed, pleaſed us not. And to that purpoſe, ſome were ſent to the Bay, to ſearch up the Rivers for a convenient place; who upon their return, reported to have found a good place upon *Miſtick*; but ſome other of us, ſeconding theſe, to approve or diſlike of their judgment; we found a place liked us better, three Leagues up *Charles River*: And thereupon Unſhipped our Goods into other Veſſels, and with much Coſt and Labour, brought them in *July* to *Charleſtown*; but there receiving advertiſements (by ſome of the late arrived Ships) from *London* and *Amſterdam* of ſome *French* Preparations againſt us (many of our people brought with us being ſick of Fevers, and the Scurvy, and we thereby unable to carry up our Ordnance and Baggage ſo far) we were forced to change counſel,

sel, and for our present shelter to Plant disper-
 sedly, some at *Charlstown*, which standeth on
 the North side of the mouth of *Charles Ri-*
ver; some on the South-side thereof, which
 place we named *Boston* (as we intended to
 have done the place we first resolved on)
 some of us upon *Mistick*, which we named
Meadford; some of us Westward on *Charles*
River, four miles from *Charlstown*, which place
 we named *Watertown*; others of us two miles
 from *Boston*, in a place we named *Roxbury*;
 others upon the River of *Saugus*, between *Sal-*
em and *Charlstown*: And the Western men
 four miles South from *Boston*, at a place we
 named *Dorchester*. This Dispersion troubled
 some of us, but help it we could not, wanting
 ability to remove to any place fit to Build a
 Town upon; and the time too short to deli-
 berate any longer, lest the Winter should sur-
 prize us before we had Builded our Houses.
 The best counsel we could find out was to
 Build a Fort to retire to, in some convenient
 place, if any Enemy pressed us thereunto, after
 we should have fortified our selves against
 the injuries of wet and cold. So ceasing to
 consult further for that time, they who had
 Health to Labour, fell to Building, wherein
 many were interrupted with Sicknes, and ma-
 ny Dyed weekly, yea, almost daily. Amongst
 whom were Mrs. *Pinchon*, Mrs. *Coddington*,
 Mrs.

Mrs. *Phillips*, and Mrs. *Alcock*, a Sister of Mr. *Hookers*. Infomuch that the Ships being now upon their Return, some for *England*, some for *Ireland*; there was as I take it not much less than an Hundred (some think many more) partly out of dislike of our Government, which restrained and punished their Excesses; and partly through fear of Famine, not seeing other means than by their Labour to feed themselves) which returned back again; and glad were we so to be rid of them. Others also afterwards hearing of men of their own Disposition, which were Planted at *Pascataway*, went from us to them; whereby though our Numbers were lessened, yet we accounted our selves nothing weakned by their Removal: Before the Departure of the Ships, we contracted with Mr. *Peirce*, Master of the *Lyon* of *Bristol*, to Return to us with all speed, with fresh supplies of Victuals, and gave him directions accordingly; with this Ship returned Mr. *Revil*, one of the five Undertakers here, for the joynt Stock of the Company; and Mr. *Vassal*, one of the Assistants, and his Family; and also Mr. *Bright*, a Minister sent hither the year before: The Ship being gone, Victuals wasting, and Mortality increasing, we held divers Fasts in our several Congregations, but the Lord would not yet be Deprecated; for about the beginning of *September*, Dyed
Mr.

Mr. *Gager*, a right Godly man, a skilful Chyrurgeon, and one of the Deacons of our Congregation. And Mr. *Higginson*, one of the Ministers of *Salem*, a zealous and a profitable Preacher; this of a Consumption, that of a Fever: And on the 30th. of *September*, Dyed Mr. *Johnson*, another of the five Undertakers, (the Lady *ARBELLA* his Wife being Dead a Month before) This Gentleman was a prime man amongst us, having the best Estate of any; zealous for Religion, and the greatest furtherer of this Plantation; he made a most Godly End, Dying willingly, professing his Life better spent in promoting this Plantation, than it could have been any other way. He left to us a Loss greater then the most conceived. Within a month after, Dyed Mr. *Rossiter*, another of our Assistants, a Godly man, and of a good Estate, which still weakned us more: So that now there were left of the five Undertakers, but the Governour, Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, and my self, and seven other of the Assistants. And of the People who came over with us, from the time of their Setting Sail from *England*, in *April* 1630. until *December* following, there Dyed by Estimation about Two Hundred at the least; so low hath the Lord brought us! Well, yet they who Survived were not discouraged, but bearing Gods Corrections with Humility, and trusting in His Mercies;

Mercies, and considering how after a lower ebb he had raised up our Neighbours at *Plymouth*, we began again in *December* to consult about a fit place to Build a Town upon; leaving all thoughts of a Fort, because upon any Invasion, we were necessarily to lose our Houses, when we should retire thereinto: So after divers Meetings at *Boston*, *Roxbury* and *Watertown*, on the Twenty Eighth of *December*, we grew to this resolution, to bind all the Assistants (Mr. *Endicott*, and Mr. *Sharp* excepted, which last purpoeth to return by the next Ship into *England*) to Build Houses, at a place a mile East from *Watertown*, near *Charles River*, the next Spring, and to Winter there the next year; that so by our Examples, and by removing the Ordnance and Munition thither, all who were able, might be drawn thither, and such as shall come to us hereafter to their advantage, be compelled so to do; and so God would, a Fortified Town might there grow up, the place fitting reasonably well thereto. I should before have mentioned how both the *English* and *Indian* Corn being at ten shillings a strike, and *Bever* being valued at six shillings a Pound; we made Laws to restrain the Selling of Corn to the *Indians*, and to leave the price of *Bever* at liberty, which was pleasantly Sold for ten, and twenty Shillings a Pound. I should also have remembered, how

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the

the half of our Cowes, and almost all our Mares and Goates, sent us out of *England*, Dyed at Sea, in their Passage hither; and that those intended to be sent us out of *Ireland*, were not sent at all; all which, together with the loss of our six months Building occasioned by our intended Removal to a Town to be Fortified, weakned our Estates, especially the Estates of the Undertakers, who were Three or Four Thousand Pounds ingaged in the joynt stock, which was now not above so many Hundreds; yet many of us laboured to bear it as comfortably as we could, remembring the end of our Coming hither, and knowing the power of God, who can support and raile us again; and useeth to bring his Servants low, that the meek may be made glorious by Deliverance.

I have no leisure to Review and Insert things forgotten, but out of due time and order must set them down as they come to memory. About the end of *October*, this year 1630. I joyned with the Governour, and Mr. *Maverick*, in sending out our Pinace to the *Narragansetts*, to Trade for Corn, to supply our wants; but after the Pinace had doubled *Cape Cod*, she put into the next Harbour she found, and there meeting with *Indians*, who shewed their willingness to Truck; she made her Voyage there, and brought us an Hundred Bushels

Bushels of Corn, at about four shillings a Bushel, which helped us something. From the Coast where they Traded, they saw a very large Island, four Leagues to the East, which the *Indians* commended as a fruitful place, full of good Vines, and free from sharp Frosts, having one only Entrance into it, by a Navigable River, Inhabited by a few *Indians*, which for a trifle would leave the Island, if the *English* would set them upon the Main; but the Pinace having no direction for Discovery, returned without Sailing to it, which in two Hours they might have done: Upon this Coast they found store of Vines full of Grapes dead ripe, the Season being past; whither we purpose to send the next year sooner, to make some small quantity of Wine, if God inable us; the Vines growing thin with us, and we not having yet any leisure to Plant Vineyards. But now having some leisure to discourse of the motives for other mens coming to this place, or their abstaining from it; after my brief manner, I say this. That if any come hither to Plant for Worldly Ends, that can live well at Home, he commits an Error, of which he will soon repent him: But it for Spiritual, and that no particular obstacle hinder his Removal, he may find here what may well content him: *viz.* Materials to Build, Fewel to Burn, Ground to Plant, Seas and Rivers to

Fish In, a pure Air to Breath in, good Water to drink, till Wine or Beer can be made ; which together with the Cowes, Hoggs and Goats brought hither already, may suffice for Food ; as for Fowl and Venison, they are Dainties here as well as in *England*. For Cloaths and Bedding, they must bring them with them, till time and industry produce them here. In a word, we yet enjoy little to be envyed, but endure much to be pittied in the Sicknes and Mortality of our People : And I do the more willingly use this open and plain dealing, least other men should fall short of their expectations, when they come hither, as we to our great prejudice did ; by means of Letters sent us from hence into *England* ; wherein honest men out of a desire to draw over others to them, wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here : If any Godly men out of Religious Ends will come over, to help us in the good Work we are about : I think they cannot dispose of themselves, nor of their Estates more to God's Glory, and the furtherance of their own Reckoning ; But they must not be of the poorer sort yet, for divers years. For we have found by experience, that they have hindred, not furthered the Work : And for profane and debauched persons, their oversight in coming hither is wondred at, where they shall find nothing

thing to content them. If there be any Endued with Grace, and furnished with means to feed themselves and theirs for eighteen months, and to Build and Plant, let them come into our *Macedonia*, and help us, and not spend themselves and their Estates in a less profitable Employment: for others, I conceive they are not yet fitted for this Business.

Touching the Discouragement which the Sicknes and Mortality which every first year hath seized upon us, and those of *Plymouth*, as appeareth before, may give to such who have cast any thoughts this way (of which Mortality it may be said of us almost as of the *Egyptians*, that there is not an House where there is not one dead, and in some Houses many) the natural causes seem to be, the want of warm Lodging, and good Dyet, to which *English* men are habituated at home; and in the sudden increase of heat, which they endure that are Landed here in Summer; the salt meats at Sea having prepared their Bodies thereto; for those only these two last years dyed of Fevers, who Landed in *June* and *July*; as those of *Plymouth*, who Landed in Winter, dyed of the Scurvy; as did our poorer sort, whose Housing and Bedding, kept them not sufficiently warm, nor their Dyet sufficiently in heart: other causes God may have, as our Faithful Minister, Mr. *Walsen* (lately

handling that point) shewed unto us ; which I forbear to mention, leaving this matter to the further Dispute of Physicians and Divines.

Wherefore to return, upon the Third of *January*, Dyed the Daughter of Mr. *Sharp*, a Godly Virgin, making a comfortable end, after a long sickness. The Plantation here received not the like loss of any Woman, since we came hither ; and therefore she well deserves to be remembered in this Place.

Amongst those who Dyed about the end of this *January*, there was a Girl of Eleven Years Old, the Daughter of one *John Ruggles*, who in the time of her Sickness, expressed to the Minister, and those about her, so much Faith and Assurance of Salvation, as is rarely found in any of that Age ; which I thought not unworthy here to commit to memory : and if any tax me for wasting paper with Recording these small matters ; such may consider, that small things in the beginning of natural or politick Bodies, are as remarkable as greater, in Bodies full grown.

Upon the fifth of *February*, Arrived here Mr. *Pierce*, with the Ship *Lyon* of *Bristol*, with supplies of Victuals from *England* ; who had set forth from *Bristol* the first of *December* before. He had a Stormy Passage hither, and lost one of his Saylor not far from our Shore. It is a Tempest having helped to take in the

the Sprit Sail, lost his hold as he was coming down, and fell into the Sea; where, after long Swimming, he was Drowned, to the great dolour of those in the Ship, who beheld so lamentable a Spectacle, without being able to minister help to him, the Sea was so so high, and the Ship drove so fast before the Wind, though her Sails were taken down. By this Ship we understand of the Fight of three of our Ships, and two *English* Men of War coming out of the *Straits*, with Fourteen *Dunkirks*, upon the Coast of *England*, as they Returned from us, in the end of the last Summer; who through Gods Goodness, with the loss of some thirteen or fourteen men, out of our three Ships; and I know not how many out of the two Men of War, got at length clear of them. The *Charles*, one of our three, a stout Ship, of 300 Tonn, being so torn, that she had not much of her left whole above water. By this Ship we also understand of the Death of many of those who went from us the last year to *England*, as likewise of the Mortality there; whereby we see there are Graves in other places as well as with us.

Amongst others who Dyed about this time, was Mr. *Robert Welden*, who in the time of his Sickness we had Chosen to be Captain of 100. Foot, but before he took possession of his place, he Dyed, the sixteenth of this *February*,

and was Buried as a Souldier, with three Vol-
lyes of Shott. Upon the Twenty Second of
February we Held a General Day of Thanks-
giving throughout the whole Colony, for the
safe Arrival of the Ship which came last with
our Provisions.

Upon the Eighth of *March*, from after it
was fair day light, until about Eight of the
Clock in the Forenoon, there flew over all the
Towns in our Plantations, so many Flocks of
Doves, each Flock containing many Thousands,
and some so many, that they obscured the
Light, that it passeth credit, it but the Truth
should be written; and the thing was the
more strange, because I scarce remember to
have seen ten Doves since I came into the
Country: They were all Turtles, as appeared
by divers of them we killed Flying, somewhat
bigger than those of *Europe*, and they flew
from the North-east, to the South-west; but
what it portends, I know not.

The Ship now waits but for Wind, which
when it Blowes, there are ready to go Aboard
therein for *England*, Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, Mr.
Sharp, Mr. *Coddington*, and many others; the
most whereof purpose to return to us again,
if God will. In the mean time, we are left a
People poor and contemptible, yet such as
Trust in God; and are contented with our
condition, being well assured, that he will not
fail

fail us nor forsake us. I had almost forgotten to add this, That the Wheat we received by this last Ship, stands us in thirteen or fourteen shillings a strike, and the Pease about eleven shillings a strike, besides the Adventure, which is worth three or four shillings a strike; which is an higher price than I ever tasted Bread of before.

Thus *Madam*, I have as I can, told Your Honour, all our matters; knowing Your Wisdom can make good use thereof. If I Live not to perform the like Office of my Duty hereafter, likely it is, some other will do it better.

Before the departure of the Ship (which yet was Wind-bound) there came unto us Sagamore *John*, and one of his Subjects, requiring satisfaction for the Burning of two Wigwams, by some of the *English*; which Wiggwams were not Inhabited, but stood in a place convenient for their shelter, when upon occasion, they should Travel that way. By Examination we found that some *English* Fowlers, having retired into that which belonged to the Subject; and leaving a Fire therein carelessly which they had kindled to warm them, were the cause of Burning thereof. For that which was the Sagamores, we could find no certain proof how it was Fired: yet least he should think us not sedulous enough to find it out, and so should depart

depart discontentedly from us ; we gave both him and his Subject, satisfaction for them both.

The like accident of Fire also beset Mr. *Sharp*, and Mr. *Colborn*, upon the seventeenth of this *March* ; both whole Houses (which were as good, and as well furnished as the most in the Plantation) were in two hours space Burned to the ground ; together with much of their Household-stuff, Apparel, and other things ; as also some Goods of others, who Sojourned with them in their Houses ; God so pleasing to exercise us with Corrections of this kind, as he hath done with others. For the prevention whereof, in our New Town intended this Summer to be Builded ; we have ordered that no man there shall Build his Chimney with Wood, nor cover his House with Thatch, which was readily assented unto ; for that divers other Houses have been Burned since our Arrival.

Upon the Eighteenth Day of *March*, came one from *Salem*, and told us, that upon the Fifteenth thereof, there Dyed Mrs. *Skelson*, the Wife of the other Minister there. She was a Godly and an helpful Woman, she lived desired, and dyed lamented, and well deserves to be honourably remembered.

Upon the Twenty-fifth of this *March*, one of *Watertown* having lost a Calf, and about ten of the Clock at night, hearing the Howling

ling of some Wolves not far off, raised many of his Neighbours out of their Beds, that by Discharging their Muskets near about the place where he heard the Wolves, he might so put the Wolves to flight, and save his Calf: The Wind serving fit to carry the Report of the Muskets to *Roxbury*, three miles off, at such a time; the Inhabitants there took an Alarm, Beat up their Drum, Armed themselves, and sent in Post to us to *Boston*, to Raise us also: So in the morning, the Calf being found safe, the Wolves affrighted, and our danger past, we went merrily to Breakfast.

I thought to have ended before, but the stay of the Ship, and my desire to inform Your Honour of all I can, hath caused this Addition: And every one having warning to prepare for the Ships departure to morrow, I am now this Twenty-Eighth of *March*, 1631 Sealing my Letters.

THE



The PREFACE of the Reverend Mr. John Ailin, of Dedham, and of Mr. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge in New-England, before their Defence of the Answer made unto the Nine Questions.

IT was the Profession of the Lord Jesus before Pilate, when he questioned with him about his Kingdom, *John* 18. 37. That for this cause he was born and came into the world, to bear witness of the Truth. Many Truths about the Spiritual Kingdom of Christ hath he imparted to us; if therefore we be born into the world, or sent into this Wilderness to bear witness to his Truth, it is unto us reward sufficient, that we should be Witnesses thereunto, even to the Utmost parts of the Earth. We confess we have been too slow in this Service of Christ, not having to this day set forth an unanimous Confession of that Form of wholesome words which is Preached, received and professed in these Churches of the Lord Jesus; and which we are not unmindful of, though our distances, and other difficulties may delay the opportunity. But this

this in the mean time we profess in general,
 That (so far as we know) there is the same
 blessed Spirit of Truth breathing in the Mini-
 stry of the Country ; the same Faith embrac-
 ed and professed in the Churches, which is
 generally received as the Orthodox Doctrine
 of the Gospel, in the best reformed Churches,
 and particularly by our Godly Learned Bre-
 thren of *England* and *Scotland*. And though
 Errors have sprung up among us, and some
 are gone out from us, that we fear were not
 of us, yet we have born witness against them,
 and by the blessing of God, by the breath of
 Christ in the mouths of his Servants they have
 been blasted. Neither do we understand that
 these Churches are accused of any Errors about
 the saving Truths of the Gospel, and therefore
 we thought our selves not so much called of
 God to such a Confession at present, as to clear
 up to the World those Truths we profess a-
 bout the Kingdom and Government of Christ
 in his Churches ; which is the great work of
 this age, and of this nick of time. And yet
 here also we fear that we have been too
 slack ; for though it be said, *We are the Volun-*
teers, such as cry up this way, &c. and so it
 seems we are apprehended to be one cause of
 these present differences : yet if things be well
 weighed, we may seem rather to be far be-
 hind in the duty that lies upon us. Indeed
 some

some brief Answers sent over to some particular persons, to satisfie Brethren what our practise is, (with some brief touch of our reasons) rather than to discuss those points, have been printed by some without our knowledge, or assent, upon what grounds they best know. And some short Treatises by some Reverend Brethren have been published to declare their affectionate desires of the unanimous endeavours of all our dear Brethren, for a general and holy Reformation. But what hath been said or done, that either may justly offend the minds of the godly, provoke their spirits, disunite their affections, or hinder a godly Reformation? Yea, we have been too slow to clear our Doctrine and practise from the many objections, harsh interpretations, and manifold Criminations cast upon the same, wherein we fear our lothness to intermeddle in these Controversies for fear of making the breach wider amongst Brethren; and our desire rather to attend what light we might receive from others in these points, wherein we profess our selves seekers after the Truth, have made us guilty of neglect in this our duty. But now we see our selves pressed hereto, by a necessity of justifying our wayes against the many aspersions cast upon them, as well as against the reasons used against them. For we perceive by the first Letters of our Brethren, how the withdrawing

drawing of Christians from the Liturgy was imputed to us, and by this Reply both in the Epistle and divers passages, we cannot but see what apprehensions are raised of us; yea, many are apt to think, that if we had said nothing, yet our very act in forsaking the Churches of God in our dear native Country, and the Cause of Christ there, together with the praise of these Churches, thought to be so different from the reformed Churches, have been, not only a great weakening to the hands of the Godly, (that have stood by the Cause of Christ) but also have caused great disturbance to the Reformation in hand : To which much might be said, but that we should exceed the bounds of an Epistle. Yet let us intreat all the Godly wise, to consider and look back upon the season of this great Enterprize, undertaken by us, and the manner of our proceedings in it, with the admirable workings of Gods Providence first and last about it ; and we think (though we were silent) they may easily satisfie themselves, whether this was of God or men ; a sinful neglect of the Cause of Christ, or a manifest attestation to the Truth, by open profession against Corruptions of Worship in use, and for the necessity of Reformation of the Church ; and that confirmed by no small degree of Sufferings for the same. For was it not a time when
Humane

Humane Worship and Inventions were grown
 to such an intolerable height, that the Consci-
 ences of Gods Saints and Seryants, inlightened
 in the truth, could no longer bear them? was
 not the power of the tyranical Prelates so
 great, that like a strong Current, carried all
 down stream before it; whatever was from
 the Law, or otherwise set in their way? Did
 not the hearts of men generally fail them?
 Where was the people to be found that would
 cleave to their godly Ministers in their suffer-
 ings; but rather thought it their discretion,
 to provide for their own quiet and safety?
 Yea, when some freely in zeal of the Truth
 preached or professed against the corruptions
 of the times, did not some take offence at it,
 judge it rashness, and to be against all rules of
 discretion, who since are ready to censure us
 for deserting the Cause? Many then thought,
 it is an evil time, the prudent shall hold their
 peace, and might we not say, This is not our
 resting place? And what would men have us
 do in such a case? Must we study some di-
 stinctions to save our Consciences in comply-
 ing with so manifold corruptions in Gods
 Worship? or should we live without Gods
 Ordinances, because we could not partake in
 the corrupt administration thereof? or con-
 tent our selves to live without those Ordinances
 of Gods Worship and Communion of
 Saints

Saints, which he called us unto, and our Souls breathed after? or should we forsake the publick Assemblies, and joyn together in private separated Churches? how unsufferable it would then have been, the great offence that now is taken at it, is a full evidence. And if in Cities, or some such great Towns, that might have been done, yet how was it possible for so many scattered Christians all over the Countrey? It is true, we might have suffered, if we had sought it, we might easily have found the way to have filled the Prisons; and some had their share therein. But whether we were called thereunto, when a wide door was set open of liberty otherwise; and our witness to the Truth (through the malignant policy of those times) could not be open before the world, but rather smothered up in close prisons or some such wayes, together with our selves, we leave to be considered. We cannot see but the rule of Christ to his Apostles and Saints, and the practise of Gods Saints in all Ages, may allow us this liberty as well as others, to fly into the Wilderness from the face of the Dragon. But if it had been so, that the Godly Ministers and Christians that fled to *New England*, were the most timorous and faint hearted of all their Brethren, that stayed behind, and that those Sufferings were nothing in comparison of their Brethrens

(for why should any boast of sufferings?) yet who doth not know that the Spirit who gives various gifts, and all to profit withal, in such times doth single out every one to such work, as he in wisdom intends to call them unto? And whom the Lord will honour by suffering for his Cause; by imprisonment, &c. he gives them spirits suitable thereto: whom the Lord will reserve for other service, or employ in other places, he inclines their hearts rather to fly, giving them an heart suitable to such a condition. It is a case of Conscience frequently put, and oft resolved by holy *Bradford, Peter Martyr, Philpot*, and others in *Queen Maryes* bloody dayes, viz. *Whether it was lawfull to flee out of the Land?* To which their answer was, that if God gave a spirit of courage and willingness to glorifie him by Suffering, they should stay; but if they found not such a spirit, they might lawfully fly; yea, they advised them thereunto. Those Servants of Christ, though full of the spirit of glory, and of Christ to outface the greatest persecuters in profession of the Truth, unto the death; yet did not complain of the cowardize of such as fled, because they deserted them & the Cause; but rather advised divers so to do, and rejoiced when God gave liberty to their brethren to escape with their lives to the places of liberty, to serve the Lord according to his Word,

Word. Neither were those faithful Saints and Servants of God useless and unprofitable in the Church of God that fled from the bloody Prelates. The infinite and only wise God hath many works to do in the World, and he doth by his singular Providence give gifts to his Servants, and disposeth them to his Work as seemeth best to himself. If the Lord will have some to bear witness by imprisonments, dismemb'ring, &c. we honour them therein; if he will have others instrumental to promote Reformation in *England*, we honour them, and rejoyce in their holy endeavours, praying for a blessing upon themselves and labours. And what if God will have his Church and the Kingdom of Christ go up also in these remote parts of the World, that his Name may be known to the Heathen, or whatsoever other end he hath, and to this end will send forth a company of weak-hearted Christians, which dare not stay at home to suffer, why should we not let the Lord alone, & rejoyce that Christ is Preached howsoever, & wheresoever? And who can say that this work was not undertaken and carryed on with sincere and right ends, & in an holy serious manner, by the chief, and the body of such as undertook the same? The Lord knows whether the sincere desires of worshipping himself according to his will, of promoting and propagating the Gospel, was not in
 C 2 the

the hearts of very many in this Enterprife ; & he that seeth in secret, and rewardeth openly, knows what prayers & tears have been poured out to God by many alone, and in dayes of Fasting and Prayer of Gods servants together, for his counsel, direction, assistance, blessing in this work : How many longings and pantings of heart have been in many after the Lord Jesus, to see his goings in his Sanctuary, as the one thing their Souls desired and requested of God, that they might dwell in his house for ever ; the fruit of which prayers and desires this liberty of *New England* hath been taken to be, and thankfully received from God. Yea, how many serious consultations with one another, & with the faithful Ministers, and other eminent servants of Christ, have been taken about this work, is not unknown to some ; which clears us from any rash heady rushing into this place, out of discontent, as many are ready to conceive. We will here say nothing of the persons whose hearts the Lord stirred up in this business ; surely all were not rash, weak-spirited, inconsiderate of what they left behind, or of what it was to go into a Wilderness. But if it were well known and considered, or if we were able to express and recount the singular workings of divine Providence, for the bringing on of this Work, to what it is come unto, it would stop the mouths of all that have not an heart

heart to accuse and blaspheme the Goodness of God in his glorious Works. Whatever many may say or think, we believe after-times will admire and adore the Lord herein, when all his holy Ends, and the wayes he hath used to bring them about, shall appear. Look from one end of the heaven to another, whether the Lord hath assayed to do such a Work as this in any Nation, so to carry out a people of his own from so flourishing a State, to a wilderness so far distant, for such ends, and for such a Work : Yea, and in few years hath done for them, as he hath here done for his poor despised people. When we look back and consider what a strange poise of spirit the Lord hath laid upon many of our hearts, we cannot but wonder at our selves, that so many, and some so weak and tender, with such cheerfulness and constant resolutions against so many perswasions of friends, discouragements from the ill report of this Country, the straits, wants and tryals of Gods people in it, &c. yet should leave our accommodations & comforts, should forsake our dearest Relations, Parents, Brethren, Sisters, Christian friends, and Acquaintances ; overlook all the dangers and difficulties of the vast Seas, the thought whereof was a terrour to many ; and all this to go to a Wilderness, where we could forecast nothing but care and temptations ; onely in hopes of enjoying Christ in

his Ordinances, in the fellowship of his people. Was this from a stupid senseless or desperate carelessness what became of us or ours? or want of natural affections to our dear Country, or nearest Relations? No surely. With what bowels of compassion to our dear Country; with what heart-breaking affections, to our dear Relations, and Christian friends many of us, at least, came away, the Lord is witness. What shall we say of the singular Providence of God bringing so many Ship-loads of his people, through so many dangers, as upon Eagles wings, with so much safety from year to year? The fatherly care of our God in feeding and cloathing so many in a Wilderness, giving such healthfulness and great increase of posterity? What shall we say of the Work it self of the kingdom of Christ? and the form of a Common wealth erected in a Wilderness, and in so few years brought to that state, that scarce the like can be seen in any of our English Colonies in the richest places of this *America*, after many more years standing? That the Lord hath carryed the spirits of so many of his people through all their toylsome labour, wants, difficulties, losses, &c. with such a measure of chearfulness and contentation? But above all we must acknowledge the singular pitty and mercies of our God, that hath done all this and
much

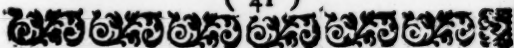
much more for a people so unworthy, so sinful, that by murmurings of many, unfaithfulness in promises, oppressions, and other evils which are found among us, have so dishonoured his Majesty, exposed his work here to much scandal and obloquie, for which we have cause for ever to be ashamed, that the Lord should yet own us, and rather correct us in mercy, then cast us off in displeasure, and scatter us in this Wilderness, which gives us cause with *Mich. 7.* to say, *Who is a God like our God, that pardoneth iniquities, and passeth by the transgressions of the remnant of his heritage; even because he delighteth in mercy?* Tho' we be a people of many weaknesses & wants, yet we acknowledge our God to have been to us a God of many mercies, in respect of that sweet peace which he hath taken away from so many Nations, yet continuing the same to us; in respect also of that liberty we have in Gods house, the blessed Ministry of the Word, the sweet unity and communion of Gods Churches and Ministers, increase & multiplication of Churches, Christian Government in the Common-wealth, and many other mercies we enjoy; but especially the gracious presence of Christ to many of our Souls in all these. But we will not insist much upon this subject, being perswaded it is in the Consciences and Hearts of many of

our dear Country-men to think that we should be an object of love and tenderness to that State and People, by whose Laws and unkind usages we were driven out into a Wilderness ; rather then to be judged as desertors of our Brethren, and the Cause of Christ in hand : with-whom (excuse us if we now speak plainly) it had been far more easie unto many of us to have suffered, then to have adventured hither upon the Wilderness sorrows we expected to have met withal ; though we must confess the Lord hath sweetened it beyond our thoughts, and utmost expectations of prudent men. *&c. &c.*

From New-England,
November 28.
1645.

JOHN ALLIN.

THO. SHEPARD.



In Domini Nortoni Librum, ad Lectorem
Præfatio Apologetica.

GRAVIS ea quidem Calumnia est, et candore
spiritus Christiani indigna admodum, Fra-
tres sive e Belgio reduces, sive in nova Anglia ex-
ulantes, Rerum Anglicarum ruinam præsentiscen-
tes; tanquam sorices e domo labante, aufugisse, ut
saluti quidem suæ provide prospicerent; communis
autem causæ Reformationis patrocinium, perfide dese-
rerent. Non sic olim vitio vertebatur Eliæ, qui præ
matu Jezebelis, in desertum aufugisse fertur, 1 Reg
19. Nec piis illis Confessoribus, qui in Mariana
tempestate, in exeras Regiones se receperunt; sive
in Germaniam, sive Genevam. Et illi quidem
se subdixerunt, cum per id tempus libera ipsis (si re-
stitissent) restaret copia, amplum satis et luculentum
Testimonium perhibendi Veritati; cum Disputati-
onibus publicis, tum Confessionibus: idque non solum
coram frequenti Judicum confesso, ut viderentur in
excusabiles; sed etiam coram universo populi circum-
stipantis catu; qui perspecta fratrum invicta fide &
patientia, redderentur ipsi quoque constantes in fide,
invicti, inexpugnabiles. Et tamen discesserant viri
isti boni, bona fratrum cum venia: Venia? imo &
gratia: neque omnino vel ut desertores fratrum, vel
ut proditores Causæ, eo nomine male audiebant. At
nobiscum nuperis hisce diebus, longe iniquius actum
fuisse, nemo est tam bardus, qui non intelligat, nemo
ingenuus

ingenium rerum aestimator, qui non agnoscat. Si quispiam nostrum coram Tribunali compateret, pro-
 sinus affertur, Heus tu, num juramentum, quod ex
 officio tibi imponimus, capescere lubeat? Si capias,
 mille nocendi artes, et certa necessitas, & semetip-
 sum, et fratres cum accusandi, tum prodendi in in-
 extricabiles legulejorum malignantium labyrinthos.
 Sin juramentum recuses, apage illico ad carceres;
 nulla amplius restat Libertas, vel disputandi,
 vel confitendi, sed tantum dura necessitas in
 perpetuo squallidi et umbrosi carceris silentio
 contabescendi. Quum igitur ita se res haberet, ut
 nobis aut in carcere inutiliter pereundum, aut solum
 vertendum, Christo duce, soli vertendi consilium in-
 habuimus, cum nos inter nos, tum vocatis in consilium
 fratribus. Fratres autem illi quos consuluisse visum
 erat, non erant illi quidem viri leves (in-
 visa et cassa capita) sed viri Dei, tum pietate,
 tum sancta prudentia spectatissimi. Illi autem pro
 ea qua pollebant, sapientia, perpensis omnibus (quae
 ad tam arduum negotium spectabant) rerum mo-
 mentiis, judicabant, potuisse nos Testimonium am-
 plius longe et luculentius causae Christi praebere, par-
 tim libera praedicatione verbi, partim viria praxi
 Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae, in ceteris Regionibus, quam
 Londini in arctis tetrisque carceribus, ubi nec li-
 brorum, nec calamorum, nec amicorum, nec conscio-
 rum copia concederetur.

Fuvel praeterea meminisse, consuluisse nos etiam
 privatos quam plurimos viros, eosque synerae pietatis

dis professione conspicuos, qui in Ecclesijs istis degebant, quorum nobis cura impendebat, et qui ipsi maxima pendebant a ministerio nostro. Et horum quidem pars, qui libertati conscientiae, et puritati cultus impensius studebant, tantopere probarunt consilij nostri de discessu rationem, ut ultro sese offerrent Camises Itineris, etiam in Ultimas orbis terrarum oras, si Dominus viam aperuerit. Pars autem altera, qui propendebant magis, licet non approbationi, tamen tolerationi adinventionum humanarum, hi etiam consilium nostrum de discessu probarunt, ut posse cum nobis, tum paci Ecclesiae apprime pernecessarium: tamen si consultius se facturos autumarent, si libertatem pacemque suam, succumbendo oneri, siue subscriptionis (ut loquuntur) siue conformitatis, ipsi redimerent. Sic bona cum venia, imo et gratia, discessum est invicem, non sine multis utrinque gemitibus, suspiriis, lachrymis inter amplexandum, et valedicendum.

In istas autem (bono cum Deo) cum appulimus oras, & sine cuiusquam offensa laeti frueremur (pro summae Dei op. max. benignitate) ea conscientiarum libertate, et institutionum Christi puritate, quam animitus querebamus, haud ita multo post, ex praxi Ecclesiasticae politeias, quam hic exercere cepimus, hoc imprimis experti sumus, posse Ecclesiasticam politeiam, cum politeia civili optime consistere, et tanquam Hippocratis gemellos, et ridere simul, et simul flere. Atque hoc non leve Testimonium viris prudentibus visum est, posse eam, quam profitemur
disci-

disciplinam, publica auctoritate stabiliri, tum sine nota Schismatis in Ecclesia, tum sine periculo Seditionis in Republica. Atque hinc etiam obstaculum aliud, quod subinde in publicis Regni Anglicani Comitibus, adversus purioris disciplinae zelotas objici solebat, facile amovebatur. Oggerent siquidem viri, civili prudentia baud incelebres, fieri non posse, ut zelotae isti in unam Ecclesiastica Politeias formam (ne si optio quidem daretur) communi inter se consensu, unquam conspirare velint. Obiectaculum (inquam) hoc, experientia teste, apud nos, nullo negotio amotum est. Concordes etenim (praemaxima Iesu Christi gratia) in unam eandemque Ecclesiastici Regiminis formam, sine vi, sine strepitu, sine tumultu, tacito omnium consensu, extemplo coaluimus.

Posteaquam autem Domini Iesu praestitutum tempus advenit, quo miseretur Zionis, in Anglia vestra paritur ac nostra, et supremo ordinum Regni consessui visum est, summos Theologos, eruditione summi ac pietate insignes, ex utroque Regno convocare, ut communi consilio de Religione reformanda disquirerent, et verae Doctrinae (UPOTUPOSIN,) purum cultus divini exemplar, et sacram ecclesiastici regiminis formam, ex scripturarum fontibus adornarent; Nos etiam baud cunctandum rati, scripta quaedam nostra (de fadere ecclesiastico, de quaestionibus in Disciplina controversis, de clavibus Regni Calorum, de praescriptarum precum (ANOMALIA) tenuia haec quidem omnia, et levidensia, sed tamen pro modum

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modulo nostro et pietatis erga patriam, et studii erga veritatem, et debite observantiae erga ecclesias Anglicanas, certa pignora (ut olim vidua minutula sua) in aerarium Domini Iesu contulimus.

Cum autem haec qualiacunque fuerint videremus in controversiam rapi, etiam a fratribus eximia pietate, atque eruditione ornatissimis, non id quidem aegre aut indigne tulimus. Nam quinam, obsecro, nos sumus, viri incircumcisi labiis, incircumcisi corde, ut summos viros ad nostrum capium sapere speremus? Veruntamen quia veritas et instituta Domini Iesu sacrosancta sunt, neque patitur ipse vel unum (IOTA) aut apicem legis suae, nedum Evangelii Regnique Christi leges perire, ecce excitavit Dominus Iesus (qui et ipse est et lux et veritas) Presbyteros multos e nostris (stellas eas quidem splendidas in Ecclesiarum nostrarum candelabris) qui veritati laboranti suppetitas ferrent, et nebulas lucis ebantibus studiose dispellerent. Inter hos Agmen ducit HOOKERUS, qui non solum dominatur in conscientia gratia spiritus sancti et virtute plenos, sed etiam (prout est vir solertis ingenii, atque accuratissimi iudicii) causam Ecclesiasticae disciplinae disputavit acutissime, et pertractavit (quantum ego quidem iudico) accuratissime. Davenportus, pro eo, quo pollet, Iudicio, eruditione, et singulari prudentia, defensionem non sui tantum, sed disciplinae Christi adversus dominum Pagettum instituit, justam, solidam, eruditam. Quinetiam, pro egregia ea, qua in grege Christi curando polles vigilantia, ut errantem gre-

gis sui oviculam, quæ in aridis Anabaptistarum puteis submersa fuerat, sublevaret, vivificam Christi sanguinis, spiritusque virtutem, ex perenni gratuiti fœderis fonte scaturientem et in paedobaptismi fluentis largitur decurrentem, graphice delineavit.

Maderus, ut ætate, ita iudicio, et industria proximus, vir morum gravitate, et vitæ integritate conspicuus, potens in sermone Evangelii, et strenuus veritatis assertor, præter ea quæ superioribus annis edidit, firma et inconcussa potestatis ecclesiastica prægnacala, operam hoc anno tempestivam impendit, ut maculas et sordes, quas in faciem ecclesiarum nostrarum frater bonus ille quidem, sed male feriat-que aspersit, abstergeret. Quin et illud insuper (auderis loco) adiecit viam ecclesiarum nostrarum, quam a viris magnis (eximia eruditione, & pietate clarissimis) exagitari, interturbari cernebat, disjectis aggeribus, atque impedimentis amotis, divina spiritus sancti ope, solida, et solita dexteritate complanavit. Sepharedus (qui vernaculo Idimæte Shepardus) una cum Allinio fratre (fratrum dulces par) uti eximia pietate florent ambo, et eruditione non invidendi, atque etiam mysteriorum pietatis prædicatione (per Christi gratiam) efficaci admodum, ita egregiam navarunt operam in abstrusissimis disciplinæ modis feliciter enodandis: et dum responsum parant, atque nunc etiam edunt Domino Balco, non alio quidem satisfactum eunt (qui satis jam aperte videt in beatifica Agni visione, introitus omnes atque exitus, formas et leges celestis Hierusalem) (ed)

sed iis omnibus, qui per universam Britanniam in ecclesiis Christi peregrinantur, et rei disciplinariae studiosius animum appulerunt. Verba horum fratrum mi suaviter spirant pietatem, veritatem, charitatem Christi: ita speramus fore (per Christi gratiam) ut multi qui a disciplina Christi alieniores erant, odore horum unguentorum Christi effusum delibati atque delincti, ad amorem ejus & pertracti, eam avidius arripiant, atque amplexentur.

Proximus ab his (sed cum primis annumerandus) Nortonus hic est, quem in manibus habemus, vir et ingenii acumine, Judicii gravitate, morum suavitate insignis, et (quod caput est) gratia Christi cum solertissimus indagator, tum buccinator fidelissimus. Is fratrum rogatu (quemadmodum et reliqui) pensum hoc suum et suscepit (non sine modesta sui abnegatione) et confecit non sine divina gratia affluentia. Placuit clarissimo viro, Domino Apollonio, quæstiones quam plurimas de Ecclesiastica disciplina, sicut ex nonnullorum heterogeneorum libris, sic inter alios Orthodoxos, ex sanctissimi Baynesii examine, ex placidissima piensissimaque Septemvirum Apologia, atque etiam ex nostrorum Nova-Anglorum scriptiunculis, quasi in fasciculum colligere, et percontari insuper a fratribus ijs, num conclusiones istas, tanquam suas agnoscerent. Candide hoc quidem ac pie, atque adeo prudenter factum, ne dum ipsorum dogmata convellere in animo haberet, quicquam ipsi per imprudentiam affingeret, quod ipse

non ut suum agnoscerent. Hac perquisitione charissimi Fratris, nos quoque moniti atque exprobrati, facile persensimus, causam non solum Septemviro-
 rum Fratrum, sed et nostrum agi, nec nostrum solum, sed (quod multo maximum est) Domini nostri (pariter ac vestri) Iesu Christi. Visum est atque nobis, id muneris Domino Nortono serio commenda-
 re, ut non gravaretur sententiam nostram (simul ac Christi) super quaestionibus istis explicare, ne quid non nostrum, ut nostrum, nobis quoque (in praedictum Causae Christi) affingeretur. Prastis **SUN THEO** quod petimus, in hac quam in manibus habes Diatribe : ubi dextre, dilucide, distincte, succincte, nervose demique pertractavit capita singula, et ad mentem nostram, si non omnia, saltem pleraque accommodatissime. Ingenue fateor (nequa enim diffiteri debeo) nec meipsum, nec Fratres etiam (quas dixi) alios, idem plane omnes per omnia sentire, de praescriptarum precum omnimoda **NOMALIA**, de statis Ministrorum stipendiis, de apicibus quarundam notionum circa primum subiectum ecclesiasticae potestatis, et discrimen fœderis gratiae et ecclesiae, et siqua sunt huiusmodi. Sed cum de rebus ipsis, rerumque praxi inter omnes satis constet, profecto a Deo edocti sumus, non solum placide ferre aliud de istis rerum apicibus sentientes, sed etiam medullius amplexari Fratres in Christo dilectissimos, qui opus Domini operantur, sicut et nos. Quod autem Latino Idiomate scripsit, consulto id quidem factum est, ut et Domino Apullonio sine Interpretis

Interprete immutaret; et controversa capita transfundens Ecclesijs, in examinem venirent. Verba auctoris non tam diserta sunt quam fortia; ut qui controversas scriberes, non declamationes. Paulus ipse non affectavit sapientiam sermonis; sed sermonem sapientiae. Nemo despiciat sermones, utcumque incultos, fratrum exulum, abjectorum, longè terra marique diffusorum, etiam ex eremo vociferantium; dummodo confiteris vere dici posse de hisce fratribus (quod Josaphatus olim de Elisba dixerat in eremo Idumæo peregrinanti) Verbum Domini cum ipsis esse. Narra Johannes (dilectus ille a Christo discipulus) semetipsum in eremum asportatum fuisse, ut clarior perspicere, non modo magnæ meretricis judicium, sed etiam castissimæ Christi sponsæ, Novæ Jerusalem de Calo descensum, Apoc. 17. 1, 3. & cap. 21. 2.

Quod si quispiam hic oggerat, Fratres hisce omnes, omnium possime de ecclesijs Christi mereri; ut qui præcipue (una cum Fratribus apologeticis) Reformationem institutam retardare, et pro virili interturbare moliantur: quippe si per ipsos non stetisset, presbyteri reliqui omnes omnino per universam Angliam, in unam regiminis presbyterialis formam conspirassent: Adeo ut fratres hii quos excusare cupis a crimine desertionis causæ Reformationis; revera non modo desertores, sed et proditores, et publicæ pacis hostes, jure merito male audient, male plectentur.

Hæc spiritum, partium studio plurimum abreptum et occæcatum! Piget et pungit, dolet et angit, minuisse, binas istas regiminis ecclesiastici formas tan-

ta animorum constitione, tanta calamitatum amara
lentia peragi, et promoveri; acsi de summa Rei abissi-
plana, adversus infensissimos Christiani nominis bo-
ses, certamen cerneretur. Siccine in Dominum Je-
sum ingratos nos esse decuit; ut confracta, per divi-
sam Ipsius gratiam, iugo hierarchico, et amoto Phi-
listeo adinventionum humanarum plumbis, cum per-
erat, omnes canticum Agni et Moysi, letis et gratis
animis vocibusque cantare; nos interea in mutuas dis-
cordias, et vasta animorum, et calamitatum divortia
(quasi dis-diapason) discindere? Tantane ani-
mis celestibus Iræ? Nunquid æquum erat, duplato
spiritus episcopalis portionem super capita fratrum
com-presbyterorum residere? Dispicite (per viscera
Domini Iesu, dispicite; obsecro, et obsecro) quid
illud est, de quo tantopere digladiamini? Regimen
ecclesiasticum non Dominum est sed Ministerium.
Digladiemur reges terrarum de dominijs suis, & de
iurisdictionum suarum finibus, et latifundijs; at in-
ter ministros Domini Iesu, maximus is est, qui
minimus esse studet et servus omnium.

Deinde, dispicite rursus, quodnam illud sit **TO
MEGA CHASMA**, quod mutuum utrinque divor-
tium, tanquam murum intergeronans interposuit?
Vos regimen omne ecclesiasticum, penes presbyteros sta-
bilissimum conicenditis: certe nequa nos regimen pro-
prie dictum (saltem quoddam ordinarium ejus exerciti-
um) alibi quam penes presbyteros, stabilissimum cu-
pinus. In eo itaque convenimus ambo in subiecto
regimini ecclesiastico. Convenimus opinus in regula
regi-

regiminis; ut administraretur omnia, non-juxta cano-
nes; siue papales, siue hierarchicos: sed juxta cano-
nem sacrarum Scripturarum. Convenimus etiam in
fine regiminis, ut omnia transigantur ad edificatio-
nem ecclesiæ; non ad pompam, aut luxum secularem.
Synodes nos una vobiscum, cum opus fuerit, et susci-
piamus, et veneramus. Quamillum est quod restat,
quod distas? Actus regiminis, quos vos a synodis
peragi velletis; eas a synodis porrigi ecclesiis, et ab
ecclesiis ex synodali DIORTHOSI peragi peteremus.
Petimus et illud etiam (& quidem juxta mentem
Christi, prout credimus) ut regimen omne ecclesiasti-
cum administraretur a presbyteris cujusque ecclesiæ,
in ecclesiæ facie, nec inscia, nec invita ecclesiæ. Vos
aliud quiddam vindicatis: sed videte et perpendite
etiam atque etiam, an non satis tuto cautum fuerit,
ne quid ecclesiæ detrimenti capiat, si omnia a presby-
teris ecclesiæ, ecclesiæ conscia, et consentiente, peragan-
tur; modo nihil arduum aut quod superes ecclesiæ vi-
res, nisi ex consilio vicinorum compresbyterorum transi-
gatur? Mensam Domini Jesu, ausim dicere, æque
vos ac nos, a prophanis ac immundis manibus tracta-
ri polluique, æque laturos. Pius renuntiatum est in
publico divini cultus directorio, ignarum quem-
am, aut scandalo aliquo inquinatum, indignum
prorsus esse, qui ad mensam Domini appropin-
quet. Ac nisi potestas detur ecclesiæ, cujusque pres-
byteris, de ignavis et immundis hisce judicium facere;
careri certe non potest, quin non modo cæci &
glandi (quos non recipit aula Davidis) sed canes et-
jam

jam et porci (quos odit anima Christi) ad mensam Domini ingerant sese : qui nec corpus Domini discernunt, nisi ut per illud dejerant ; nec sanguinem Domini ebibunt, nisi ut exinde animosius ad sanguinem sanctorum effundendum (tanquam inuisorum rotundorum, ac rotantium capitum) proflirent. Hujusmodi ad mensam Domini convectas, nullus dubito, vobis pariter ac nobis, aequè ingratos esse & permolestos. Cum itaque in hisce rebus omnibus (quæ quidem maximi momenti sunt) pulchre convenimus, quid, obsecro, impedit, quo minus non causæ communis aut proditores, aut desertores : sed communis vobiscam causæ, et defensores, atque astipulatores (pro modulo nostro) adversus communis fidei atque ecclesiæ hostes, habeamur ? Certo certius est, si ex nostris nostris dissensionibus, aditus per posticum pateat ; sive pontificiis, sive hierarchicis, ut rerum denuo potiantur, actum iri funditus (humanitus loquor) de utrisque nostrum ; sive presbyteriis, sive ecclesiis propensores fuerimus. Tros, Tyriusve, illis nullo discrimine agatur. Sive presbyteriales cluitis, sive ecclesiastici, istis rerum dominis, ambo vos certe puritani estis ; et prout PUR Græcis, et ITAN Wallis ignem significat ; sic toti toti, quanti quanti estis, tanquam ignei Reipublicæ, atque Ecclesiæ incendiarii, extinguemini. Non tam multi abhinc anni retro fluxerunt, quin recenti patrum memoria recordari liceat, Ridlejum pariter ac Hooperum, quanquam in causa disciplinæ, alter ab altero plus nimis disjungeretur ; tandem utrosque vivicambario, a pontificiis

verum potius, extinctos esse. Verbum sapienti.

Verum enimvero, si fratres animum inducere non possunt, quin nos ut communis causa desertores, deserant: liceat mihi quæso (quod Judas olim a fratre Josepho petiit) et petere a vobis, et impetrare, ut loquar verbum in auribus vestris, neque ira vestra accendatur. Causa hæc, quam a nobis deferi quiritamini; quatenus a nobis deseritur, non ea quidem vobis communis est cum pijsimis illis, ac sanctissimis Christi confessoribus, qui nostra, et patrum memoria causam Reformationis tuebantur? Vestra non ea causa est, quam Heroes illi, amissione libertatis, confiscatione bonorum, incarceratione, exilio, sanguine denique consignarunt? Quantam potestatem venerabilis Cartoretus ecclesie cuique deferat, nemo nescit qui commentarium ejus in I Cor. 5. perlegerit. Quodnam primum subjectum ecclesiastica potestatis Paræus statuat, testatur tertium ejus volumen, acerrimo cum judicio, et summa eruditione continuatum. Quanam ea ecclesia sit, quam sanctissimus Bainesius agnoscat, cui Christus ecclesiasticam omnem potestatem detulerit, patet ex examine. Quid gravissimus Amesius, nervorum et medullæ theologia satur, super ecclesie institutione statu, forma, et potestate senserit; patet ex medulla. Atque hij quidem curæ, atque equites Israelis, illarum cohortium principes erant, qui causam Reformationis tuebantur; et nostra, et patrum ætate. Ab horum sive vestigijs, sive principijs, si novitatis studio cessamus: jure merito deseremur ut desertores. Quod si in via illorum

ambulamus, nec ultra progredimur (quod ad summam rei attinet) quam ab illorum lumine divinitus collustrati: certe non nos illi sumus, qui causam Reformationis deseruimus; sed illi potius (quos lubens nullo modo dicere) qui nos ut desertores deserunt, et destituantur. Desinant itaque viri fratres, viros hosce Dei, qui scriptis editis, causam cum patribus communem, tueri satagunt, sugillare, ac vellicare, tanquam male de Ecclesia meritos, causæ desertores, pacis publicæ perturbatores.

Cæterum præter hos omnes, supersunt duo fratres reliqui, Covetus, & Eliotus; quorum hic justam contenuit historiam eorum qui apud nos, sub prætextu conscientiae, a civili magistratu, graviora quam par erat, passi perhibentur. Vir hic, uti gnarus est & impiger, fidelis in domo Dei servus, priscis moribus, antiqua fide; ita fidelem operam navavit in investiganda rerum istarum veritate; quas etiam fide historica in tabellas revulsi, et typis mandavit: ut intelligant æqui rerum aestimatores, ea quæ passi feruntur de persecutionibus in Nova Anglia, conscientiae nomine perpeffis (ut dicam verbo, et verbo quidem Apostolorum) nihil esse. Alter autem ille a fratribus, quem dixi, Covetus, cum persensceret aliquot ex ovibus Christi sibi commissis, antipædobaptismi laqueis atque dumetis irretitas; zelo Dea accensus (et zelo quidem secundum scientiam), imo et misericordia etiam Christi commotus erga errantes oviculas; libros quos posuit, ex anabaptistarum penam congesti; rationum momenta (qualia fuerant) in

lance Sanctuarii trutinavit; testimoniorum plaustra, quæ ab illis congesta fuerant, sedulo perquisivit; et pro eo quo floret disputandi acumine, dijudicandi sâ-
lertia, solida multa paucis complectendi dexteritate, atque indefesso labore, nihil pene intentatum reliquit, quod vel ad veritatem in hac causa illustrandam, vel ad errorum nebulas discutiendas, atque dispel-
lendas conducere.

Sed vellicat hic mihi aurem quispiam (præsertim ex iis quibuscum necessitudo mihi aliqua intercedit) & serio percontatur: Cum tot tantosque labores a compresbyteris tuis susceptos narras; qui prodierunt, ut Debora loquitur, ad auxiliandum Febovæ, ad auxiliandum Febovæ (ut Junius vertit) inter for-
tes; quid tibi interea faciendum restabat? Nunquid tu solus resistebas inter sarcinas, vel inter sibilis & balatus gregum? Tunc cum Reubene, a fratrum consortio, præ magnis animi cogitationibus, divulsus es? Equidem non diffiteor, me etiam aliquid molitum esse, et, pro gratiæ acceptæ modulo, perfecisse etiam aliquatenus, atque emisisse. Sed quicquid illud fuerit, baud dignum reor, quod inter exquisitos Fra-
trum labores, vel nominari quidem debeat. Scrip-
serunt illi TOIS CHARIEISI; ego, prout necesse habui, TOIS POLLOIS. Gratosus est Domi-
nus, qui acceptare dignatur ad ædificationem Sanctu-
arii sui, non modo purpuram et byssum; sed etiam pelles arietum, et melium; imo et pilos caprarum:
Exod. 35. 23.

Pergat Dominus (pro gratuita sua, & divite
Gratia)

*Gratia) laboribus servorum suorum omnium, Sibi
in obsequium, Ecclesia in aedificationem, benedicere;
Zionis sui misereri; Lites inter suos dirimere; Veri-
tatem, & pacem promovere; Fines Regni Christi,
atque pomeria, dilatare; Antichristum spiritu Oris
conficere; Viam denique sternere, ut Shem in
tentoria Japheti, quasi postliminio, revertatur; per
Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, in secula sem-
piterno benedictum. Amen.*

JOHANNES COTTON

*in Ecclesia Bostoniensi
Presbyter docens.*
